LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor : R. Palme Dutt

The B.B.C Throws Off The Mask

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

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One shilling and sixpence

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HOW TO KEEP YOUNG

ONE cold morning, with nose and fingers a little blue, I met a trade union official friend who slapped me heartily on the back, saying: 'How's your circulation?' As he has been a *L.M.* reader since his 'teens, I knew he meant our circulation, not mine. So I explained that despite the price rise it had been doing well, but that I was a little worried at a slight fall in January, when everyone feels the pinch, the leaping cost of living having quickly mopped up this year's bonuses. 'Ask us readers to do something about it', he said, bouncing off before I could tell him what they are already doing. Here's a cross-section. From Essex: 'A tip for readers who can't afford 1s. 6s. I always read it at our Public Library, and I thought of asking the Librarian what happens to back numbers. He said they could be bought at quarter the price, so I got some. You tell your readers that if they ask their local Librarians they can do themselves a good turn and advertise *L.M.*, too!' There's enterprise! As to collective efforts, I know that in quite a few London areas readers are getting together, making up joint lists of people to whom specimen copies should be sent, here and there forming Discussion Groups. Sometimes readers say that they would like to join a Discussion Group, or offer to act as convenor if other readers get in touch with them. This was very popular during the war years, when evacuated readers ran into a ferment of new problems and ideas. Probably it is catching on again today because there is once more a ferment of ideas, of people battling for peace and looking for new ways forward for the Labour movement. I am thinking of a Discussion Group in Ayrshire which sprang up years ago among readers at their place of work, one of whom writes: 'We are now too much scattered for that purpose, but not too much to continue our monthly donation, and we shan't forget *L.M.*'s great role and what it means to us personally.' An interesting account comes from a year-old group in Lancashire 'of about 30, young and old'. After describing successes, my correspondent reflects upon weaknesses: 'Our keenest *L.M.* readers are among the active trade unionists who always seem to be working on the evening shift the night we hold the meeting; when they are not there something essential is lacking.' Contrary working hours, overtime, travelling—all present difficulties to be overcome. How to find more readers locally? Here the Specimen copy scheme comes in handy. (Form on back cover). In a Kent factory readers got together and discussed the people they knew and which back number would most appeal to each: 'Here's the list and a postal order for 2s. collection for expenses.' (A. considerate touch, that.) Which back numbers are most often chosen? Extremely popular still is November. From Leeds a comment on 'D. N. Pritt's inspiring and humane description of developments in People's Democracies'. From many readers on *Thaelmann's Letter from the Nazi Prison*: 'What a man, what a tragedy, what a triumph! The human being is the real expression of the Atom's greatest powers of energy, not the destructive bomb.' Above all, the Rev. Stanley Evans' *Sermon in St. Paul's* in that November issue. Then of course the December number, with warm congratulations on *Labour's New Fight* by S. O. Davies, M.P., which readers felt should go far and wide; on 'More articles from the pen of that grand old warrior Willie Gallacher (*Lessons of the Election*)';

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Notes of the Month

Churchill's Canossa

We have been repeatedly told about the 'miracle of recovery' brought by the Marshall Plan in Europe. And suddenly another European crisis is upon us. . . .

It is an open question, when we consider the present French and British crises, whether Europe would not be better off today if we had never given it a dollar of Marshall Aid.

(Henry Hazlitt, 'Newsweek', December 3, 1951.)

Mr. Clement Churchill has countersigned the mortgage on the old home initialled by Mr. Winston Attlee. If any rank-and-file Conservative or non-party voter entertained fond hopes that the return of Mr. Churchill to office might bring a greater independence of Britain's policy, a diminution of the strain of American subjection and of the consequent aggravation of Britain's crisis, or a new diplomatic initiative towards Great Power co-operation and peace, the outcome of the Churchill-Eden visit to Washington, no less than the deepening of Britain's crisis, should by now have

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shattered their illusions. Mr. Churchill came, saw, and was conquered. Where now is all the braggart talk about re-establishing Anglo-American 'equality of partnership as during the war'? Or the loud tub-thumping about the Admiralty of the Atlantic? Or the electoral bait about a new approach to Stalin and Four-Power Talks of the Heads of States? All has vanished and dissolved in the icy blast of the air of Washington. Like a hostage at a Roman triumph, Mr. Churchill was compelled to listen in silence in the Presidential gallery before the assembled organs of American state power, while President Truman paraded in harsh statistics the panoply of American armed might. Six years have passed since President Truman, at Fulton, listened to Mr. Churchill laying down the line which American imperialism was to take over and make its own. After six years the Frenzy at Fulton has ended in the Capitulation at the Capitol. This is not to say that the struggle of the British and American imperialists has ended; on the contrary, it grows more intense. But the Washington talks have represented a further stage in the imposition of American plans on Britain.

'Empire' and 'Satellites'

On the very day on which the Truman-Churchill communiqué was issued, as a secondary item of news below the dominant power declaration of President Truman's State of the Union Address, the leading American publicist, Walter Lippmann, sounded a significant note of warning in the *New York Herald-Tribune* of January 9:

> The great alliance should not be allowed to degenerate into an American Empire surrounded only by satellites and dependants . . . If ever we find ourselves to be masters with no partners who are our equals, the corruption of our liberty—which is even now not uncontaminated—is certain.
>
> Only equals can really be trusted, only governments that speak candidly and do not say what they think we want to hear, what they believe will keep the dollars flowing. There is no health in satellitism, and even the most ruthless imperialism can never trust the satellite.

The language is couched in diplomatically hypothetical form. But Lippmann was not writing about fairyland. He was writing about the current situation of the American War Bloc and of the relations between the United States and Western Europe. And most significantly, he was writing at the very moment of the visit of Churchill and Eden to Truman and Acheson. This is the first time that a front-rank American publicist in a foremost American

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semi-official organ has openly used such terms as an 'American Empire', its 'satellites and dependants' and 'no partners who are our equals'. Mr. Churchill was learning the lesson in Washington in practice.

'Day of Disillusion'

The hour of disillusion has indeed sounded in the relations between the United States and its Western European dependants. Disillusion of the Western European countries with the disastrous effects of American 'aid', penetration, domination and the drive to war. Disillusion of the American overlord with the mounting insolvency, feet-dragging reluctance and bottomless pit of dollar-hunger of the Western European subsidised Governments. Far vanished now are the honeymoon days of Marshall 'Aid' philanthropy and benevolence, and the fawning gratitude of the Ministers who sold their countries. It is symptomatic of the present stage that another leading American publicist, Henry Hazlitt, should review bitterly the lesson of the Marshall Plan under the title, 'Day of Disillusion', and, in the extract set out at the head of these Notes, raise the question 'whether Europe would not be better off today if we had never given it a dollar of Marshall Aid'. Five years ago such a sentiment was branded as a wicked heresy of Communists whose only desire was declared to be to deprive Western Europe of the delightful flow of dollars in order to promote their sinister designs of economic disaster and insolvency as their supposed road to power. Well, the Western European countries have had their Marshall 'Aid'—and now they have got the economic disaster and insolvency. The Eastern European countries, where Communists lead the government, and which escaped Marshall 'Aid', are now on the high road of unparalleled economic advance and rising standards, and are not stretched on the rack of the dollar deficit and the deficit on the balance of payments. The contrasting situation of Yugoslavia and Greece in Eastern Europe, which accepted the flow of dollars in return for services rendered, and are now in a disastrous economic condition, emphasises the lesson.

The Bill Comes In

Today the Western European Governments survey ruefully the deepening crisis of their economies since the imposition of the Marshall Plan. They cower before the ceaseless raising of the

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ante of the American arms demands, as Eisenhower's tones grow ever more shrill and hectoring. With anxious eyes they watch the preparations to build up a Nazi-officered West German Army with American dollars and arms, and at the expense of payments to be extracted from the countries which Nazism invaded. With growing alarm they begin to realise the open American drive to a new world war of direct aggression (even pre-dated by Eisenhower in his *Paris-Match* interview for the end of 1952), in whose launching the European 'partners' are to have no say, but for which it is made clear they must supply the majority of the troops as well as the bases to be attacked.

Western Europe in Disarray

Small wonder these miserable and unrepresentative governments, bolstered up and maintained by a foreign Power which openly begins to query whether they are worth the cash they receive, show little stomach for the situation in which they have landed themselves. Belgium officially refuses the 50 per cent arms increase imposed at Rome. Next day the Belgian Government falls. The French Government falls, and its fall heralds a crisis of French foreign policy, as indicated in the statement of *Monde:*

> It is not certain that this is an ordinary crisis which will simply end in a mere re-shuffle of portfolios. Not only are the Gaullists proposing a new foreign policy, but amongst all the other non-Communist political groups in parliament one notices a development favourable to a revision of our international commitments. (*Monde*, January 8, 1952.)

The Lisbon meeting of the Atlantic Pact Council, intended to ratify the rearmament increases and final decisions on the so-called 'European Army', and originally called for the beginning of February, has to be postponed and again postponed in view of the state of confusion of the satellite governments. And General Eisenhower indicates his intention to clear out and hand over the mess to General Grünther or other successor as rapidly as possible, in order to become the War President.

'Gambling with Suicide'

But indeed the distrust is mutual. It is not only the Western European Governments which reveal increasing distrust of the actions and intentions of their American 'protector', the economic and financial penetration, the extending bases and the plans for

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war. It is equally the ruling circles of the United States which show increasing distrust of the capacity of the Western European countries to reach a self-supporting economic basis or fulfil the exacting requirements of the war programme. In the satellite Western European countries, President Truman had to confess in his Address,

> . . . the defence build-up has created severe economic problems. It has increased inflation in Europe and has endangered the continued recovery of our allies.

Atlantic Defence Faces a Breakdown' was the screaming title of the *U.S. News and World Report* on November 23, 1951, in a survey which declared that 'the defence build-up in Western Europe is facing collapse' owing to the failure to fulfil the man-power or armaments targets, and reached the conclusion:

> No solution for European defence has yet been found except to have the United States write bigger and bigger checks.

Similarly the *Wall Street Journal* in December came out with a grim editorial under the title 'Gambling with Suicide':

> For the past few weeks it has been a subject of current news and comment that the nations of Western Europe would be unable to make their planned contribution to rearmament . . .
>
> If the larger programme of rearmament (propounded at Rome) or anything approaching it is to be carried out, then the American taxpayer will be asked to foot the bill . . . The American contribution would make the Marshall Plan look like pennies . . .
>
> To this there can be but one end. The United States trying to bolster Europe will bankrupt itself . . . What we are seeing looks very like a game of Russian roulette. The persistent player is bound sooner or later to commit suicide. (*Wall Street Journal*, December 5, 1951.)

Britain's Crisis

Britain's economic deterioration and deficit is the most severe of all the countries of Western Europe. The initial returns for 1951 have sufficiently indicated this, and the final returns will fill out the gloomy picture. An adverse balance of trade, which in 1947, in the year of the Marshall Plan, had reached a then record total of £425 million, reached last year, after the completion of Marshall Plan 'recovery' a new high record of £1,209 million, or three and a half times the level of the preceding year. The deficit on the balance of payments is estimated at over £500 millions, and may reach £600 million; the deficit extended, not only to the dollar area, but also to Western Europe; the dollar deficit extended to the whole sterling area. The gold and dollar

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reserves of the sterling area fell to £834 million by the end of 1951; the rate of decline during the last six months of 1951 was three times the rate of decline during the six months preceding devaluation in 1949; and the continuance of the decline at this rate would exhaust the reserves in nine months. Such was the situation in which Mr. Churchill decided at the end of 1951 to add to the dollar deficit by paying £62 million loan interest and redemption, no doubt as a sprat to catch a whale in accordance with the widely expressed Conservative hope of major American aid now that a Conservative Government was installed—and has received, according to the initial reports available, 'mutual aid' (i.e., military aid) of £105 million, or equivalent to a net £43 million.

Price of Rearmament

This steep decline of 1951 was prior to the full effects of rearmament operating. Nor was there any question of the immediate factors leading to this sharp acceleration of Britain's decline. If we piece together the various estimates put forward by past and present Chancellors during the last six months—pending the announcement of more definitive figures—it is evident that about half the deficit on the balance of payments was due to increased imports of raw materials for the rearmament programme and stockpiling for the rearmament programme (imports increased by 15 per cent in volume, mainly raw materials, while consumption standards in the country went down), i.e. directly to the British rearmament programme; and about half was due to the steep rise in import prices (accounting for about £300 million of the deficit in Gaitskell's estimate, and reflected in a 50 per cent rise in the values of imports for a 15 per cent increase in volume), which was the consequence mainly of United States rearmament and stockpiling. Thus, while the proportions of the different factors may still be subject to further more precise estimate, *all* the immediate factors in this sharp decline are the direct consequence of Atlantic rearmament and war policy. The deeper causes of Britain's decline over the whole period are now reinforced by the American war policy to which Britain is tied by its present rulers. Hence the catastrophic descent.

Production and Exports

Five years ago the British people were told that the Marshall Plan was the road to recovery. That illusion is exploded. The

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crisis is worse at the end of the Marshall Plan than at the beginning. Five years ago the workers were told that Higher Production and Increased Exports represented the only way to save Britain. 'We are not paying our way. We must produce more and export more. This is hard common-sense above politics. There is no other solution.' And now? The workers have produced more. They have gone short at home in order to export more. Industrial production by October, 1951, was 51 per cent above 1946. The volume of exports by the second quarter of 1951 was 73 per cent above 1947. A colossal rate of increase. And the result? The crisis is worse than ever. All the prodigious, increased efforts of the workers have been squandered by the spendthrift war policy of their rulers. And now the old tune is played again by the old exposed, false prophets, by the Tory and Labour imperialists and the tame economic 'experts' and the B.B.C. wiseacres, proclaiming that the situation is desperate and that the only solution is to produce more and export more. Not twice in the same fire. It is evident that the first necessity is a change of policy, and that, until the policy is changed, all the increased efforts of the workers are in vain.

America Writes off Britain

In face of this collapse of Britain's economy the United States rulers show increasing distrust of Britain as a liability rather than an asset, and gloomy doubts of Britain's future. Thus the *Wall Street Journal* reported in December the privately expressed viewpoint of high government officials running the Military Aid programme:

> Listening to them talk here in Washington these days, you can't escape the conviction that their doubts are rising. They admit in private talks that they think that Britain—with all the aid the United States has given her—is in no temporary easy-to-solve crisis. They know the several hundred million dollars of stop-gap economic aid they're planning won't get Britain off the financial hook except temporarily.
>
> They fear even bucketfuls of extra aid on top of that for years to come wouldn't do the job. They figure the way England's going now, that country is permanently on the financial skids, and no amount of gifts from the United States can do more than put off the evil day of reckoning. (*Wall Street Journal*, December 21, 1951.)

An accompanying editorial in the same journal expressed the view that American dollars had served only to support a system which could not have stood unsupported.

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Threat to Foreclose

Nor are these gloomy forebodings of the United States rulers with regard to Britain confined only to the economic aspect. They extend also to Britain's political future. Stewart Alsop in the *Washington Post* of December 21, 1951, considers the prospect (described as Bevan's 'winning bet')

> that simple economic pressures will sooner or later destroy the Conservative interest in Britain by forcing a sharp fall in living standards; and that Britain will then go very far to the left under a 'third force' anti-American government.

As a political counter-move to this prospect the same journalist reports

> a number of responsible British and American officials talking thoughtfully, tentatively, but seriously about some entirely new approach to the whole Anglo-American relationship. There was even talk about some sort of real political and economic union among Britain, the Commonwealth countries and the United States . . . in order that British power, the indispensable asset of the United States . . . should cease to be a wasting asset.

With this may be connected the open advocacy by the *Observer* editorial of December 16 (always in the vanguard of Munichism), echoed in vaguer form by *The Times* and in current political speeches, for the absorption of Britain into the United States. The mask is dropping. The New Munichites, the Appeasers of American imperialism, have reached a dead end in their policy, with its desperate consequences for Britain. Their only solution is to offer the final sale of Britain to the United States.

Churchill's Canossa

It was in this unpromising atmosphere of frigid distrust of Britain, no less than of rising Anglo-American divisions on every issue (Far East, Middle East, European 'Unity', Atlantic Command, rifle standardisation, atomic energy and raw materials), that Mr. Churchill had to make his pilgrimage to Washington. It is not surprising that the results were meagre. All Churchill's ancient cunning of statecraft could not make up for a poor hand and a hopeless policy. Britain had fallen to the role of a needy satellite in desperate straits, with its empire a rich field of spoils for the picking by its stronger rival. Had Churchill been capable of an independent initiative, the balance of forces might still have been changed. Had Churchill gone to Moscow before Washington

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(without asking prior permission of Washington); opened up trade with one-third of the world to meet Britain's crisis in defiance of American bans; and insisted on the removal of American offensive bases from British soil; then indeed a new situation would have opened, and the American rulers would have fallen over themselves with offers of concessions to Britain. But Churchill was tied by his own blind suicidal policy of reaction and capitulation. The former proud War Lord of the British Empire had to present himself as the begging suitor, satellite and second fiddle to the pigmy Truman.

A Gross of Green Spectacles

What did Churchill bring back from Washington? Any final judgment must await such fuller reports as may be vouchsafed. But the indications of the January 9 communiqué are unpromising. In addition to the communiqué it has been stated that the United States will allocate £105 million of its foreign military aid total to Britain (equivalent to a net £43 million after payment of loan interest and redemption); but this was understood to have been fixed before the visit; and will also send one million tons of steel in return for Britain supplying Malayan tin and Canadian aluminium. Apart from this minor traffic, the contents of the joint declaration are either negative or alarming. They are negative where they repeat previous lines of policy without new departure (rearmament, German rearmament, 'full support' for the 'European' Army, continuance of the war in Korea, etc.), while indicating no agreement reached on the issues of division. The 'divergences in our policies towards China' are duly noted—although these 'divergences' become increasingly formal in the face of the practical tailing of British policy behind American aggression in Eastern Asia. On raw materials 'the discussion will be continued'. On the 'eventual standardisation' of the rifle an 'effort' will be made to reach future agreement. The Atlantic Command remains 'still under discussion'. On the Middle East the formulations offer no new comfort for British imperialism, but conform to existing American policy, with a vague reference to 'the four-Power approach' as the only solution for Egypt, and an underwriting of the World Bank initiative as the line for Iran. Subsequent declarations may, no doubt, amplify these very limited results. But what is new in the Truman-Churchill Declaration of January 9 points very grimly to future war plans.

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Atomic War Threats

The first grave new indication in the Truman-Churchill Declaration is the public affirmation of American atomic war plans. The significance of this statement has been almost universally missed in current comment.

The statement runs:

> The United States has the use of certain bases in the United Kingdom. We reaffirm the understanding that *the use of these bases* in an emergency would be a matter for joint decision by His Majesty's Government and the United States Government in the light of the circumstances prevailing at the time.

This statement has been generally treated as a mere formal 'reaffirmation of the verbal understanding previously reached between Truman and Attlee in December, 1950. On the contrary. It is necessary to recognise that what is here involved is the use of the atom bomb. The American bases in Britain are openly and without disguise atom bomber bases. The verbal understanding reached between Truman and Attlee in December, 1950, at the moment of universal alarm over American threats to use the atom bomb in Manchuria, and following President Truman's statement that such use was being contemplated, and the consequent upsurge of feeling and concern in the House of Commons, was that the United States Government would not take the fateful decision to use the atom bomb without consultation. This agreement has now been superseded by the newly written Truman-Churchill declaration, which *restricts* the pledge of consultation to the case of delivering the atom bomb *from bases in Britain.* Even this restricted pledge of 'consultation' might prove of very limited value in the test of emergency if the current interpretation in the American press is to be regarded as accurate:

> Consultation would be a matter of a telephone call as U.S. planes with atom bombs took off for targets or for advanced fields like those in Britain. (*U.S. News and World Report,* December 21, 1951.)

But the delivery of the atom bomb from bases outside Britain, e.g. Northern Africa or in Eastern Asia, is now removed from the pledge of consultation. This is of especial significance in relation to the most important and menacing new feature of the Truman-Churchill declaration and Washington talks—the visible indications of preparations for extended war in Eastern Asia. Here it is necessary to see the significance of the Declaration in close association with President Truman's State of the Union Address.

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'Tremble and Obey'

It was the custom of Hitler, when receiving satellite potentates, to treat them to an impressive display of Nazi military strength (during the war supplemented by a pleasant film of Nazi terror-bombing of Warsaw or Rotterdam) to help to bring them to a suitable frame of mind. President Truman did not fail to imitate the master's technique. Before the silent Churchill in the Presidential Gallery he paraded the array of American military power and economic might, while emphasising the 'severe economic problems' of the European satellite countries:

> During the past year we have added more than a million men to our armed forces. The total is now nearly three and one half million. We have made rapid progress in the field of atomic weapons. We have turned out $16,000,000,000 worth of military supplies and equipment, three times as much as the year before . . .
>
> We are now in the second year of a three-year programme which will double our output of aluminium, increase our electric power supply by 40 per cent, and increase our steel-making capacity by 15 per cent. We can then produce 120 million tons of steel a year, as much as all the rest of the world put together . . .
>
> Planes and tanks and other weapons—what the military call 'hard goods'—are now beginning to come off the production lines in volume. Deliveries of hard goods now amount to about $1,500,000,000 a month. A year from now we expect that rate to be doubled.

Thus the arms production of 1950 was trebled in 1951. It is to be doubled again in 1952. This makes a multiplication six times over in two years, to reach this year a total of nearly £13,000,000,000 for armaments alone (not total military expenditure)—or in one year close on three times the entire British three-year rearmament programme including all armed forces expenditure), which is breaking Britain's economic back. President Truman was certainly sparing no effort to provide his guest with food for thought.

'Our Point Four Programme'

Lest the full significance be missed, President Truman paid special attention to the British Empire in his Address. These passages were generally omitted from the British press reports. He described at length the work of American technicians in India. He emphasised the role of American 'capital investment' in the countries of Asia.

> This is Point Four—our Point Four programme at work. It is working—*not only in India, but in Iran*, in Paraguay and Liberia—in thirty-three

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countries around the globe. Our technical missionaries are out there. We need more of them. We need more funds to speed their efforts. because *there is nothing of greater importance in our foreign policy.*

It will be noted that he is concerned to insist that Point Four—'our Point Four programme'—'is working', i.e. to repudiate the conclusions widely drawn from the very small sums so far spent that the plan exists mainly on paper. Second, he draws as his first examples of its spheres of operations, countries of the British Empire or within its orbit—India and Iran. Third, he insists that this expansionist offensive of penetration into the colonial and dependent countries of the British Empire and other European empires will now become a main front of American foreign policy in the coming year—'there is nothing of greater importance in our foreign policy' (language almost exactly recalling the language previously used about the Marshall Plan as at that time a key front of American foreign policy). The preliminary more limited expenditure and technicians' missions have prepared the ground. The enlarged economic offensive into the countries of the British Empire is now due to open. And these preparations for extended American economic penetration into Asia link up with the importance of the very grave indications of new American plans to extend the war of aggression in Eastern Asia.

American War Threats in Eastern Asia

The ruthless American offensive in Korea has ended in failure to subjugate the Korean people. All the concentration of imperialist arms and troops in South East Asia has failed to crush the advancing struggle of the peoples for freedom—in Vietnam. in Malaya, in Burma. Once again the Western aggressors in Asia are faced with the dilemma of their policy, as after the failure of the American war of intervention in China and victory of the Chinese people two and a half year ago. The choice opens out anew: either to recognise the bankruptcy of their policy and make peace with China and the peoples of Eastern Asia; or to plunge deeper into war. Two years ago the American warmakers sought to retrieve their fiasco in China by launching their offensive on Korea and Formosa as their new jumping off ground against China. After reckless expenditure of blood and treasure and barbarous devastation the adventure has failed. The American negotiators protract and obstruct the cease-fire negotiations while the new policy is being worked out. The war drums are sounded anew.

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As in Korea?

Once again Dulles descends on Tokio and Eastern Asia to confer with the American military command, as in June, 1950, when Dulles, Bradley, Johnson and MacArthur took the fateful decision to unloose the war in Korea. General Chase, U.S. Military Advisor to Chiang Kai-shek, proclaims the aim to invade China from the south. The United States, British and French Chiefs of Staff meet in Washington under 'top-secret' precautions. General Templer is summoned to Washington and dispatched to Malaya with new orders. Once again the air is filled with 'rumours' of Chinese 'troops massing' on the frontiers to 'invade' South East Asia (an ironic touch, this, from the real invaders of South East Asia). The technique of the preparation of the Korean War under cover of forgeries and brazen lies is being repeated. President Truman in his Address speaks darkly of 'signs of further trouble in that area' (South East Asia) and 'some new communist attack'. Mr. Eden on January 11 delivers his dutiful and loudly publicised warning of possible 'United Nations' military action in South East Asia comparable to that in Korea. This passage, observed *The Times* Washington correspondent, 'has given particular pleasure here'; and the Alsop brothers on January 14 underlined its significance as meaning

> that the British and American Governments have decided to go to war, or to come very close to going to war, with Communist China, under certain circumstances that are quite likely to arise.

The menace is sufficiently plain and open.

British and American Peoples for Peace

Who wants the extension of the hated wars in Korea, Malaya and Vietnam to all East Asia or to a new war against China? The peoples of East Asia ask only to be left in peace. The British people, including the soldiers in Korea, want peace. The American people, including the soldiers in Korea, want peace. Let note be taken of the significance of the recent Gallup Poll in answer to the same question in Britain and the United States. The question ran:

> *Would you like to see Truman and Churchill meet Stalin to try to settle the differences between their countries?*

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These were the answers in Britain:

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Total	83	5	12
Conservatives	90	3	7
Liberal	89	3	8
Labour	78	7	15
No party affiliation	73	6	21

These were the answers in the United States:

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Total	70	21	9
Republicans	65	29	6
Democrats	74	16	10
Independent	73	18	9

The overwhelming majority of *all* the parties, and also of those of no party, *both* in Britain and the United States, want a meeting of the Heads of State for peace. But the Washington decisions have in fact rejected this proposal, and adopted instead new plans for war. Therefore the fight goes forward, against the menacing outcome of the Washington talks, for the ending of the wars in Eastern Asia, and for the Five Power Peace Pact, as the only path forward for the peoples of the world and to begin to solve the problems of Britain's crisis.

January 16, 1952. R.P.D.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

A. J. COOK ON THE FIGHT AGAINST RIGHT-WING LABOUR

I am in more direct contact with the masses of the workers than any leader in this country. I know well their thoughts and aspirations, and they are in no mood to allow hero-worship of past gods to determine either present or future policy. They know their real enemy, and suffering and persecution and unemployment will determine their actions. Let us join issue with Snowden, MacDonald and Co.; let us fight with the gloves off, by informing the workers of the truth of the situation. Once the masses know the economic facts of the world crisis, which Capitalism has created, then neither the sophistries of Snowden nor MacDonald will hold them back from organising politically and industrially to overthrow Capitalism. It is our duty to harness the revolt and to use every means at our disposal to secure the end we have in view.

From *The Conflict of Ideas*, by A. J. Cook, February, 1927.

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THE B.B.C. THROWS OFF THE MASK

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

In the presentation of news and views on the Soviet Union and on Communism, the B.B.C. has until recently pretended to present both sides, and on the basis of that pretence has often been brought—especially when specific objections to one-sided broadcasts have been made—to give the Left Wing point of view a little time on the air, to answer right-wing stories. But recently it has become clear that by a change, perhaps gradual and perhaps sudden, the set policy, apart from what an individual programme-controller with a sense of fair play may occasionally achieve, is to present substantially exclusively the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist case.

The particular instance in which this policy was brought home to me personally was one of only moderate importance on its own merits. It arose from a series of broadcasts in the autumn of last year in the European Service, on the topic of 'Is a settlement with Russia possible?', the talks all being reprinted in *The Listener*. The first five talks were given by Mr. W. N. Ewer, Mr. E. Crankshaw, Mr. Douglas Woodruff, Mr. K. Zilliacus, and Lord Layton. Before the sixth talk—by Professor Arnold Toynbee—had been given, I protested to the Chairman. I wrote:

> Purely objective discussion would in theory be the best thing, but is probably impossible on a topic involving the U.S.S.R. There must therefore be 'sides' and the proper treatment is surely a fair balance of expression of conflicting views. I take it that you would agree that your policy on such a topic is, or should be, to present such a fair balance.
>
> What I think is indisputable here, as it was in some of the earlier cases, is that there is no such balance, but that these five broadcasts are virtually wholly anti-Soviet . . .
>
> I myself think (the talks) are based on gravely mistaken assumptions and consequently draw wrong conclusions; but I do not need to make good that assertion. It is sufficient to state merely that there is a good arguable case for it, and that consequently the B.B.C. can only fulfil its duty to the public by giving an opportunity to present the case for the Soviet Union as well as the five anti-Soviet points of view.

I went on to point out the effect of such broadcasts in increasing hostility to the Soviet Union and therefore, also, the danger of war, and suggested that arrangement might be made to redress the balance a little by giving the pro-Soviet point of view.

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Since the Soviet point of view is most emphatically that the two systems can co-exist and that a settlement is entirely possible, what could be more important than that the B.B.C. audience should hear it?

The answer came within two days—quick, abrupt, and not too courteous. It ran:

> The series is now finished. Its purpose was not that of a discussion but to put before European listeners a number of individual points of view reflecting responsible opinion in this country. I think the series satisfactorily fulfilled its purpose, and that it was not unfair.

I was genuinely a little surprised, and answered:

> You will understand, I am sure, that I am disturbed to receive such a letter from someone I respect. A serious complaint is put before you, with reasoned arguments, and a remedy is asked for. The reply you send answers no arguments, and advances none. It consists of a blank refusal even to consider my reasonable request, and could have been drafted on a stock form by someone who just did not mean to consider, or even to discuss, the merits. The only definite assertion made in this letter is that the series of broadcasts was 'not unfair'. I must say bluntly that I cannot accept the view that anyone of your integrity and intelligence could believe that statement if he really brought his mind to bear on it for himself.
>
> I do ask you to take the whole matter into your personal consideration afresh, as if this letter of the 15th had never been written, and to see whether, if my complaint is not to be remedied, at least a reasoned answer may be given to it.

The reply to this letter took the form of a suggestion, made in friendly terms over the telephone, that the chairman and myself should have a talk. We did so, at some length; and in the course of the talk I learnt that the B.B.C. holds its function to be to follow public opinion, not to lead it; and that, because it thinks that public opinion is fundamentally hostile to the Soviet Union, it finds it quite consistent to give one-sided broadcasts. The chairman, however, readily agreed to study a recently published book which answers pretty effectively the stock accusations against the Soviet Union, and to think the whole matter over and see what could be done.

I was hopeful, especially as protests of this kind in the past had sometimes produced some remedy, that something would be done, and was therefore, once again, genuinely surprised to receive, in less than a week, another blank refusal, quite different in tone from the chairman's conversation, and again neither producing nor answering any argument. It ran:

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> I have read the book and considered what you told me. I regret to inform you that I see no reason to advise the Governors to make any change in their policy or practice in broadcasting about Communism or Russia.

Their 'policy or practice' is plainly now that of presenting as a general rule an almost total hostile picture, involving many assertions which are demonstrably false—if demonstration were permitted. I replied:

> You can imagine how profoundly grieved I am at the decision of the B.B.C., especially as I understand that this is now its set policy. So that I may not misquote, I would mention that I understand from you that the B.B.C. claims to follow what it understands to be public opinion, not to lead it; and that the reason why the B.B.C. is unlikely to allow me to broadcast again is that I put too well on one occasion a point of view with which it does not agree.

This concluded the correspondence; we are left with the position that this immensely powerful monopoly, unless and until public opinion corrects it, will no longer even pretend to present both sides of any controversial subject, even when the peace of the world depends on understanding both sides, but will purvey 'propaganda' in the lowest sense of that word, a sense recently used by Mr. Walter Lippman in the *New York Herald Tribune* on December 31, 1951, when explaining the failure of much of America's present-day propaganda:

> It is the first principle of all the arts of managing people's minds that there must be a monopoly . . . Propaganda depends finally on censorship, and . . . the very essence of propaganda as distinguished from education and free public speech—is that the propagandist has the power to withhold and conceal that part of the story which does not support his thesis. The indispensable piece of operating equipment in the kit of the propagandist is a curtain. Without a curtain the beauty, the charm, the terror, the cleverness of what he says will be undone or neutralised by the knowledge of what he does not say. It is possible to educate people, to inform them, to argue with them in the open. But the minds of men cannot . . . be engineered except by a blackout which conceals everything but that on which the spotlight is to be centred.

It is only too plain that the B.B.C., which boasts of its service to freedom of speech and of 'never jamming' is in fact now pursuing a jamming policy in respect of two-fifths of the world, of 'censorship', and of 'propaganda as distinguished from education and free public speech', and is exercising all its formidable power 'to withhold and conceal that part of the story which does not support' the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist thesis, hoping that its 'curtain' will prevent 'the terror and the

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cleverness' of what it says from being neutralised by that knowledge of the true answers which it does not allow to be given. It is in truth departing from its real duties as fully as the United Nations has departed from those for which it was established when it made itself into the agent of that half of the world which is for the moment controlled by the rulers of America. The public of Britain must reform the B.B.C. as quickly and surely as world public opinion must reform U.N.O.

COLD CHRISTMAS CAROL

IVOR MONTAGU

In the version invented by Dickens, the Spirit reforms Scrooge by showing him the Ghost of Christmas Past and the Ghost of Christmas Yet to Come.

This Yuletide has seen a variation for the Cold War. First Uncle Scrooge assembled his Marshallised nephews and nieces for a game of snapdragon—snatch what you can if you want anything at all, and if you do gain a singed raisin or a scorched nut out of the flaming hooch you'll have to pay for it with burnt fingers. Then he froze their blood with a Tale of Three Cities—Strasbourg, Rome and Bonn.

And this tale has made their hair curl with two visions: the Ghost of Hitler Past and the Ghost of Hitlers Yet to Come.

It has been a season of final debunking.

Strasbourg—European Union, then Western Europe, the parliament if not of men at least of the common citizen of the culturally united West, all this is now finally pull-the-plug and down-the-drain.

The vision of the starry-eyed, the dream of the old-fashioned European folks abandoning their chauvinistic prejudices and gathering voluntarily into a federation of equals for the benefit of their moral, cultural and material betterment, is replaced by a simple rationalisation of war production forced on Europe by outsiders, dominated by German-American trusts, enacted by an assortment of quislings and munichites trembling at the resentment of their peoples, and sustained by a destruction of civil liberties and a secret police co-ordination originally worked out by Himmler.* The Ghost, indeed, of something no newer than, and exactly as old as, the New Order itself.

*One wonders how Maxwell Fyfe, who so ably nailed down the Nuremberg authors of the original version, enjoys administering it himself now.

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Hitler, or Goering, or the darling of the English University-trained occupationists, Speer—some of them anyway, planned far-sightedly. While the Reich lasted, Europe was to be one industrial unit labouring to support the invaders of Russia. When it ended, the links with American capital, the ruin of the invaded territories, the gas-chamber massacre of their intellectuals, were to ensure that, whatever destruction ensued and wherever, German industrial leadership would recover first.

So it has eventuated. Reparations from West Germany virtually annulled. Capital investment in West Germany far ahead of that in the Western European countries. Gross output, producing capacity, labour productivity, technical equipment, raw material supply of West Germany far in advance of that of France. Steel output superiority almost as great already as it was in 1938—coal, electricity, cotton, cars, cement, all superior in output in West Germany, and cheaper, than anywhere else in Western Europe. The Schuman plan* giving without fighting, what Hitler had to fight for, the power to annex or strangle French steel and Belgian coal. The Pleven plan*—and the Paris conversations of France, Germany and the Low Countries—threatening a similar power to orient all national economy by the 'joint' determination (veto-less) of 'defence' budgets, all with the same old, Third Reich, purpose.

Rome—N.A.T.O., which was represented and sold as a high-minded turning aside by the Good Washingtonian to rescue a gasping Europe in its hour of peril from potential robbers, now becomes, finally and inescapably, the dragging and dragooning of Europe away from a peril every European counts imaginary and into a real one, the whole robbed by sky-prices in forced trade with America.

Already before Ottawa, the entire pro-N.A.T.O. press of Europe was writing that its various spokesmen, financial and military, would urge some abatement of the American-urged pace of rearmament, maintaining that 'the danger of Soviet aggression' was less immediate than supposed, that what was needed was 'a long pull' rather than 'a short sprint'. And already, from Ottawa all had returned with, as Gaitskell among them admitted, a flea in the ear and orders to spurt faster even if

*Churchill, returned to office, finds himself arrived once again just in time for a Dunkirk, an evacuation out of there, but this American is Truman, not Roosevelt, and pressed him to go back and be incorporated.

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it meant a stitch in the breathing apparatus. In Rome—

> The Americans at Rome were virtually alone in bristling with a sense of urgency. They were drilling into the unwilling ears of their European colleagues, that the time to arm was now. Both Harriman, as No. 1 N.A.T.O. 'Wise Man', and Eisenhower, as SHAPE commander, were demanding that all Atlantic allies do what they can now with what they have and not wait for 1953 or 1954 . . .
>
> . . . But the fact remains that European hearts were not in rearmament. They would do only what they were forced to do by American threats or cajoling. U.S. pressures for rearmament had already strained its relations with its allies to the point where some of them privately feared it as much as the Soviet Union and suspected a preventive war was the target of American policy.
>
> (*Newsweek*, Dec. 3, 1951)

The political Fausts* who originally thought of N.A.T.O. as a means of winning a brief spell of pomp, luxury and political power in return for signature of an undertaking which, since they knew the Soviet Union attack it postulated was a mere propaganda figment, they counted would never require fulfilment, now stand before a yawning pit and Mephistopheles is holding out his bill. The political analphabets, to whom N.A.T.O. genuinely spelled D.E.F.E.N.C.E., now wake to a New Year in which nothing is more remote or inconceivable than that Soviet troops should march, and the cuckoo-Eisenhower they invited to their nest prates '. . . not 54, not 53, but 52! 52! ', while Acheson's midnight voice percolating through moustache and microphone a promise that the coming year will see 'American activity have a decisive effect on the cause of peace', sounds like the crack of doom itself.

Bonn—no bon. Can't even any more be pretended to be. The peaceful democratic Germany, full of culture and overflowing with Christianity to be integrated into (and defend) some sort of liberties has already disappeared. Instead, reappears the Butcher-Bird, its wing feathers nicely straightened up by S.H.A.P.E., its fuel tanks filled financially by Wall Street (and even by the poor British budget), its beak and talons brightly polished by the Three Allied High Commissioners (who approve the 'anti-sedition' measures against all German peace activists who might dim the weapons' lustre), and its tail-feathers glistening with the lick-spittle of the friends of Vansittart who fawned on it at the Elysee and Buckingham Palace.

*They include even Fulton Churchill, who wakes at last to the meaning of the East-Anglian mass-murder bases.

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We are used by now to the seven different police forces including Land, Federal, mobile, frontier, naval, etc., whose arms include rifles, machine-guns, flame-throwers, armoured cars, with officers specially selected from ex-platoon commanders and evacuees from the 'lost territories', and numbering already more than four times the number of permitted armed forces on which Hitler's illegal rearmament was built.

We are used to the labour service units that participated in the last British-Army-in-Germany manoeuvres and the tommy-gun equipped, black-uniformed 'Service Guard' auxiliaries with the 'U.S.' shoulder flash.

We are used to the proliferation of ex-service legionaries—the Ex-Soldiers' Protective League (60,000 members, 80 branches—motto—'Exonerate the S.S., Restore the Eastern Territories'); the Union of Pensioner Ex-servicemen and Dependants (85,000—headed by three Generals and an Admiral); the ex-Paratroopers (headed by General Ramcke, fresh from war crimes prison); the former Africa Corps members; the former Gross-Deutschland Panzer Korps members; the Air Defence League; the former Reich Labour Corps men (120,000), the former Professional Soldiers' Mutual Aid; the Union of German Arms; the Bruderschaft; the former S.S. members (chief, Otto Skorzeny—376 groups); the German Volunteer Corps (with four 'Chapters'—Doenitz, Petain, Landsberg and Werl). Or we should be, for all this and more is now united in the German Soldiers' League, with a branch in every parish, Guderian and Gumbel (who calls the July '44 men 'traitors to the Fatherland') in the background and as 'front' General Freissner, who solemnly calls for the release of war criminals and cessation of the defamation of those who fought for Germany, explaining that Germans know that the last war was a just war since it was against Bolshevism and that it 'only broke out' because Poles murdered Germans.

We are used to Generals Heusinger and Speidel (the latter Rommel's ex-chief of staff—did anyone mention a Hollywood press agent?—his brother Wilhelm, still in jail for Balkan war crimes, telling the press of his 'close co-operation with my brother in conferring with the United States on German rearmament') forming part of a German-Allied Security Commission, and the publication of an 'ex'-German High Command staff journal 'European Security' with contributions from five Generals on subjects such as 'War in the East in Winter and

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Autumn', 'The Last German Massed Bomber Attack in the East', 'Principles of Soviet Infantry Organisation', 'From Clausewitz to Guderian', and, of course, 'Eisenhower'.

We are used to the féting and reinstatement of war criminals. Krupps' reception at a champagne party just after laying wreaths on the prison graves of Goering and Co., the practical reconstitution of I. G. Farben under its former directors, the staffing of Adenauer's foreign ministry with 134 former Nazi party members (*), the refusal of British Army Commanders and American military courts to restore children, stolen by Hitler, on the plea of their Czech and Soviet mothers, and the British Government's Christmas Gift to Germany—release before time of a batch of war criminals that included the Belsen wardresses. All that is, of course, humanity.

We are used, too, to President Heuss sternly refusing the Evangelical Church request to preserve the right of conscientious objection to military service, the disregard of Land constitution provisions for referenda requested by a certain minimum of citizens, the arrest, beating up and intimidation of such citizens petitioning for referenda on rearmament, the smashing-up and outlawry of youth meetings and others calling for peace. That is, no doubt, necessary to preserve order.

We are used to the University Professors (e.g., Laubert of Göttingen) declaring that the Poles have only themselves to blame, and Germany a clear conscience, in its relations with Poland throughout history; to Otto Remer's Reichspartei meetings with black-clad, booted and breeched youngsters with red, white and black arrow symbols; and West Berlin former S.A. and S.S. wearing their original uniforms at countless Hitler anniversary celebrations; to the students shouting down Niemoller; to the Young Wolves of Bavaria; to the 'Sixers' (from the number of letters in Hitler's name) and the '888's' (from the place of H in the alphabet). This is freedom of speech.

We are used, or had better get used, to the further befouled and damaged Jewish cemeteries, the leaflets calling for the murder of Johannes Becker and to 'strike the peacemongers whenever we find them', the peace speakers assaulted in their

*Of Adenauer's entourage—one F.O. man presided over the extinction of hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews, another 'collected' pictures for Goering from Jewish property, another ordered the May deportation of Dutch Jews to Mauthausen, another leading civil servant was Ribbentrop's chief expert on the Jewish question, Adenauer's own chief of personnel wrote the Nuremberg laws, and the latter's then personal assistant is now chief of civil service law in Adenauer's Home Office.

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homes, left as disfigured corpses in the ditch. This is high jinks.

For all this has been happening in West Germany, which is part and parcel of the democracy which sustains our way of life, which relies upon and trusts us, and which we must never abandon to the sins and seductions of the East. Any attempt to interfere with these activities would, of course, just play the game of the East; we can rely, can we not, on a fine, peaceful democrat like Chancellor Adenauer to keep any aggressive tendencies under control?

We can not. Why not? Ask Dr. Seebohm, Dr. Adenauer's Minister of Transport, who at Kassel declared that the Nazi regime is part and parcel of Germany's historical greatness, that we must honour the symbols (including the Swastika) for which Germany fought and died, that only fools thought the re-establishment of the pre-Hitler frontiers could ensure peace, for were not great masses of German nationals outside the frontiers of Versailles? Ask Herr Kaiser, Dr. Adenauer's Minister of All-German Affairs, who welcomed the electoral success of Churchill *(Manchester Guardian,* Oct. 28) as a 'man, who understands' that 'the road to peace lies over a series of rugged obstacles', 1. 'the re-assimilation of the Soviet Zone by Germany', 2. 'the solution of the Oder-Neisse question', 3. 'possibly, the emancipation of the satellite states', and a little later 'thanked' (for the welcome of Germany on a 'equal' basis to the blowing-off-steam shop at Strasbourg) with the following observation:

> There will be no real Europe until the German bloc is restored. Let me remind you that, besides Germany, this bloc comprises Austria, a part of Switzerland, the Saar, Alsace and Lorraine.

Or ask Dr. Adenauer himself who told the expulsees that they could count on the 'early return' of the Oder-Neisse lands, as the 'High Commissioners have given certain assurances', and when these hastily sought to deny it, allowed his *Chef de Cabinet* to repeat the statement categorically and the latter's aides to add that satisfaction on this point would in no wise necessarily imply abandonment of a claim to 'a new arrangement over the Polish Corridor'. (Manchester Guardian, Nov. 18).

So there we are, the ghost begins to look pretty substantial, with plenty of flesh and blood on him.

Curious—Mr. Acheson and Mr. Eden appear to think that some purpose of human dignity (or their own), or Christian ethics, or etcetera, is being served by whipping their voting machine at Paris into motion to testify that the U.S. Congress enactment of

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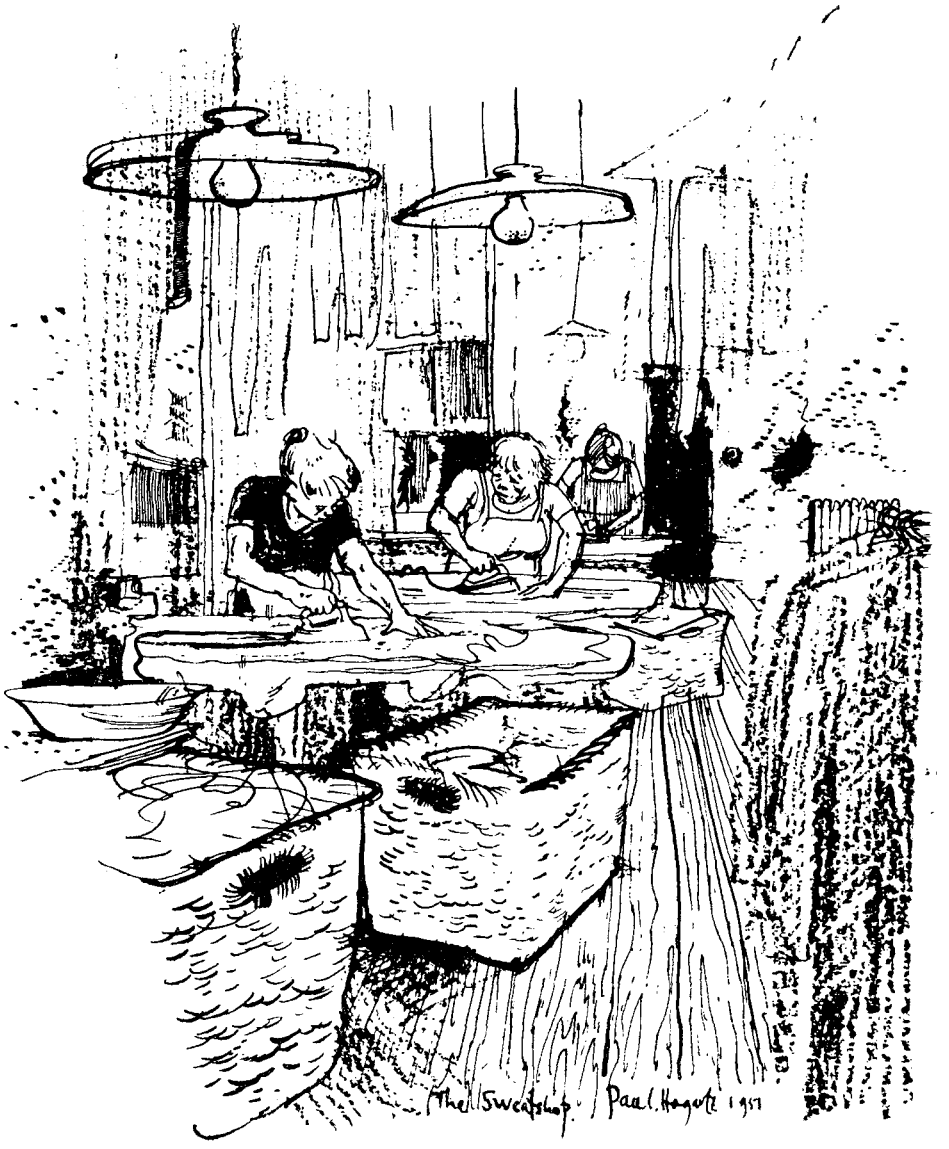

ORIGINAL DRAWING

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Y PAUL HOGARTH

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100 million dollars to maintain armed bands in the territories of the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies is a humanitarian effort to provide asylum for refugees, the while its legislator-author in U.S.A. yelps 'What nonsense, it means exactly what it says'.

And, with like humour, Mr. Acheson, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Schuman, present Dr. Adenauer to King and President, declaring: Behold the civilised German Prince Charming, who has vanquished for us the Nazi beast and will now join Europe to defend peace, the while their protege says, as loud as he can, in action and words, 'Thanks very much, I don't mind you nattering, but you do understand, don't you, our objectives remain exactly as before, and you'll help them and pay for them, and go to war for them, or else . . .' To which Messrs. Acheson, Churchill and Schuman say only 'Shush!'—*to us!* They daren't even hint it to him.

Merry Xmas! These are the visions Uncle Scrooge showed Europe at this shivery season. And the picture was so plain nobody any longer can ignore it, they can only go on denying it, which is rather different. As at Munich-time, everybody—Labour M.P.s, even Tories, and the ordinary men and women all over Europe—know at last that the Communists are right over N.A.T.O., Strasbourg and Bonn, right once again as they were once before, although some out of habit for a long time, and others out of evil for ever, will try their best not to draw the consequent conclusion. However, spring and summer are coming, and Uncle Scrooge's pictures are not so popular now after this last little lot. Maybe the Spirit will find they have reformed us after all. Then it will be a Happy New Year, perhaps even a Happy New Era.

Wisdom of the Month

LORD BEVERIDGE ON THE BEVERIDGE PLAN

'The only serious worry for old people like me is fear that we may live too long after we have spent our savings, and when we cannot earn.'

Lord Beveridge, 'A Letter to Posterity', *Listener*, January 3, 1952.

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'MOTHER CHINA'

K. AHMAD ABBAS

The face is wrinkled, a relief map of the years of stress and struggle. The skin is dried up and withered, like cracked earth in a season of drought. The eyes are sunken and bleary. The sparse grey hair is loosely tucked under a cloth cap. A cotton-padded coat covers the emaciated frame. She walks, or rather hobbles, awkwardly on her swollen, stumpy little feet—they are no bigger than a child's—a grim reminder of the days when a Chinese woman's 'bound' feet were a symbol of her social and psychological bondage.

This Chang Su Lien, born 63 years ago, daughter of a landless labourer, whose feet were bound at the age of six, child bride of a poor peasant at the age of nine, a mother of half a dozen children before she was twenty-five, a widow before she was forty. She is toothless—many of her teeth were knocked out by the butt of a Japanese rifle, the rest in a torture chamber of the Kuomintang Secret Police—but she speaks in a clear, crisp voice. She is short of stature and delicate, almost fragile, but her back is unbent, her step is still firm on her baby's feet, and the small hands with which she occasionally makes forceful gestures to emphasise a point are the hands of a peasant—bony, horned and knobby, for they have wielded a plough, a hoe, a spade and also a guerilla's rifle! This is Chang Su Lien—and her name is a household legend all over the country. Mothers put their children to sleep by chanting the story of Chang Su Lien. Boys and girls read about her revolutionary career in their school textbooks. Veterans of the war of liberation respectfully bow before her, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself rises to receive her when this old peasant woman goes to visit him!

'Yes, my son, I will tell you everything', Chang Su Lien said when I told her through an interpreter, I wanted to know the details of her remarkable life. 'But', she added, with modesty, 'don't forget I am not the only one. There are thousands and thousands like me whose lives have been changed by the Revolution and the Communist Party.'

Chang Su Lien was born 63 years ago in a village called Ser Li, in Chien county, Anhwei Province — daughter of a very poor peasant. She was still a child when her father died and her mother had to support the family by collecting firewood and sell-

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ing it in the market. At the age of six, Chang Su Lien's feet were bound. 'Look', she said, pointing to them, 'they are as small as they were when I was a child. I still remember how painful it was to walk about in the beginning . . .' I asked her why her feet should have been bound. 'Oh, everybody bound their daughters' feet—it was a common practice in those days.' Then a smile flickered on her thin lips as my question was repeated to her. 'I know, I know, it was so that the girls should not run away—but they said it was because small feet were more beautiful.' When she was only nine she was married off to a poor peasant named Chang. 'My mother thus got rid of me because she was too poor to feed a growing daughter'—again there was the trace of that smile—'I guess as a child I demanded a lot to eat.' She told me about her life with Farmer Chang. It was a very poor, very hard life. They rented land from the landlord and farmed it, the two of them yoking themselves to the plough as they could not afford to buy an animal—not even a donkey. Chang was an industrious and resourceful farmer, he raised pigs and silk-worms. With all that, however, they and their pigs could not get enough to eat, for practically the whole produce of the land was taken away by the landlord and the government officials by way of rent and various kinds of taxes. 'There was this tax and that tax, so many taxes that no one could count them. But after they were paid we had nothing left, so we ate gruel of millet once a day, and I had to feed our hogs with weeds from the pond.'

She insisted that her life was no harder than the life of any other peasant. 'There is not much to tell, my son, so little happened in our life. We rented the landlord's land and borrowed money from him for the seed, then we ploughed and sowed and hoed'—she demonstrated each process by an eloquent gesture of her hands—'and prayed for rain when there was drought. When the crop was ready we reaped it, but then the landlord came and the officials came'—her hands indicated how fat and fearsome they were—'and they took away everything. Some years when the harvest was not good we had to sell our pigs to meet the landlord's demands. Then we had to borrow some more seed for the next sowing, and so it went on, one year after another—we were like the donkey pulling a water-wheel which must go round and round, drawing water which he cannot drink. Such was our life, my son, as the years passed, and one year was like any other.'

In reply to my question, she said : 'Oh yes, there were children —more mouths to feed, as they arrived, quite a problem for poor

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folks like us, but when they grew up they could work in the field and help their parents. There were sons, yes, and then there were daughters-in-law, then there were grandsons—a house full of people and so much more to cook—it was such a big responsibility when my husband died and I was left alone to look after the whole family.'

Suddenly, a new light shone forth in her eyes and her voice became charged with a vital emotion as she said: 'Then the Fourth Route Army came to our village—and everything was changed.'

I had to restrain her flood of eloquence to ask her how and when she first heard of the Red Army and Mso Tse-tung. She replied that till they arrived in her village, she knew very little about the Communists. Some people from Szechwan, passing through her village, had talked about a new kind of army—the New Fourth—which enforced reduction of land rent and interest. 'I tell you, my son, when I first heard that I did not believe it. Nor did many others in our village. How can it be possible, we asked, that an army should take the side of the peasants against the landlords? But the new Fourth Army, when it arrived in our county, made the impossible possible—the rents were actually reduced. Those of us who were too poor did not pay any rent at all. And the landlords held their breath and dared not say anything to us so long as the New Fourth was there to support us.'

That was Chang Su Lien's characteristic introduction to the Chinese Red Army. This contact, she said, opened her 'mind's eyes' and she threw herself into the work of mobilising the peasants for anti-Japanese resistance under the leadership of the New Fourth Army. With her she brought her children and grand-children, her sister and brother-in-law—indeed her whole family—to work for the cause of resistance. Though modesty forbade her to mention it, she is reputed to have distinguished herself as an agitator and organiser, and in course of time she was elected Chairman of the 'Women's Association for Resistance Against Japan'—not only of her village but of the entire district.

'What was the main work of your Association?' I asked her. 'To mobilise the masses for resistance against Japan, and to provide comforts for the wounded soldiers.' In 1939, when nearly 1,500 Japanese soldiers attacked the small detachment of the New Fourth Army that was stationed in her village, the peasants resisted the enemy with spears, hatchets and locally-made

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muskets. Even the women, under the leadership of Chang Su Lien, collected stones and rained them on the attacking Japanese soldiers. After the Japanese had been driven away from that area, Chiang Kai-shek staged the great betrayal which is known as the 'South Anhwei Incident of 1941'. The New Fourth Army which, by now, had gained immense popularity among the common people of the Province was suddenly attacked not by the Japanese but by Chinese troops of the Kuomintang, in flagrant breach of the truce that had been arrived at between the Communists and the Kuomintang for purposes of jointly fighting the common enemy—i.e., the Japanese. Outnumbered and surprised, the New Fourth had to retreat across the mountains. Chang Su Lien, along with her whole family, decided to throw in her lot with the Red Army and marched along with them. But it was very tough going over the frozen passes and seeing the old woman painfully hobbling on her little 'bound' feet, the Army commanders told her that she was too old to undertake this arduous journey. Chang Su Lien's reply was that in the service of the revolution none was too old and none too young! 'I told them the Red Army is my father and my mother, where it goes, I go with it.' But then the Commanders 'ordered' her to stay behind and organise resistance in the enemy's rear. 'Being in the Army, I had to obey the orders,' she said, recalling the incident, 'though I was worried about the safety of my family, especially my daughter who had delivered a baby on a mountain top during the retreat. But General Li Teh, he tells me, Mother Chang, you have nothing to worry about. Your children are like my children. I will look after them.'

By now Chang Su Lien was known as 'Chang Mama' (Mother Chang) not only to the people of her village but to the entire New Fourth Army. Both the Japanese and the Kuomintang had her name on their respective Black Lists as a 'dangerous Red'. So she changed her name to Madame Chiang, dishevelled her hair, put ashes on her face, and generally assumed the character of a half-crazy mendicant. Thus began the most dangerous and dramatic phase of her life, as this 'beggar woman' wandered from village to village, hobbling on her little bare feet, spreading the message of resistance and revolution. In the day she would hide in the hills and only at night she would come down to the villages. As she described her amazing adventures in an astonishingly calm and casual tone, my mind conjured those jagged hills, the damp caves in which she hid during the day, the

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wild berries on which she lived, the hunger she had to endure, the utter loneliness, the terror, the suspense, the perpetual feeling of being hunted, for one wrong step might land her into the hands of the enemy—the Japanese or the Kuomintang, both of whom had announced a big reward for her capture. 'Wasn't it a great strain', I asked her, 'to live like that—alone, in constant danger, without a fixed abode?' 'Yes, it was a hard life', she replied, speaking slowly, reflectively, evocatively, 'and there were many troubles. As the sun set and darkness spread across the plains, I would come down from my hiding place in the hills and walk to some village. That was the loneliest moment of all—specially if the sun was gone and the moon had not come up. But when I would look up at the sky and see the stars, I would see there the face of Chairman Mao, and no longer would I be alone.'

There was faith and utter devotion in her eyes but also an instinctive sense of poetry in her expression, and I marvelled at this humble peasant woman who, in the solitude of her nightly vigils, could look at the sky and glimpse the 'Red Star Over China'.

The Kuomintang agents scoured the countryside for Chang Mama, who eluded capture for many months but was finally trapped in April, 1941. There was great jubilation among the Kuomintang troops of Division 52 who had captured this 'dangerous bandit woman'. They knew she belonged to the New Fourth Army, and they hoped to get full information about the underground organisation left behind by the Reds in the Kuomintang's rear. 'They asked me questions night and day,' Chang Mama told me, 'they asked the names of all our guerillas in that area, and where we had hidden the twenty-four guns that we had captured last year from the Kuomintang; they asked me about the new headquarters of the New Fourth remnants who had managed to escape across the mountains. They thought I was a woman and so I would speak without difficulty and tell them all they wanted to know.' Then she smiled a toothless smile. 'But they were wrong, my son, I was a woman no doubt, but I belonged to the New Fourth, and men or women of the New Fourth never gave information to the enemy when they were tortured. No, I did not speak.'

'So they tortured you?'

She nodded her head—then opened her toothless mouth. 'They knocked out my teeth — those that were left by the Japanese a year earlier.' Again a peculiar ironical smile

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appeared on her face. 'The Japanese break some of my teeth—the Kuomintang break the remaining ones. Japanese—Kuomintang—both same.' She demonstrated how they slapped her and beat her with a hammer, and tied her to a beam. As she recalled those horrors, for the first time she became really excited and her voice rose to an indignant pitch. But there were no tears in her eyes as she said, 'I drank all my tears many, many years ago.' Then she pulled up the ends of her trousers, rolled down her stockings and displayed the horrible burnt marks all over her legs where she had been scalded with red hot irons. She took a pin from her hair and stuck it deep into her leg to show that the flesh had become insensitive, 'dead'. 'Now I can feel no pain, my son', she laughed a bitter, hollow laugh. 'The Kuomintang has taken away all my pain for all time.'

Then she rolled up her sleeves and showed black scars all over her arms. 'This is where they stuck fine-pointed bamboo splinters into my flesh and deliberately broke the points so that they remained in my flesh and caused sores dripping with pus . . .' These memories were even too much for her and her voice faltered for once. She paused, wiped her eyes though there were no tears in them, then she took a sip of tea to steady herself. In a moment she was again calm and cheerful and told us proudly that, despite all the torture inflicted on her, she did not give any information to her Kuomintang captors. 'All I would say was "I don't know anything"—so that they really got tired of questioning me, and after that they would beat me up every day without asking any questions. There was one good thing about my sores—they smelt so bad—so bad—' she held her nose to show us how foul-smelling those sores were—'that the Kuomintang devils dare not come near me: they had to beat me with long bamboo sticks from a distance. Thus for more than a year these tortures continued.'

After a little pause, she added in an amazingly calm and steady voice, '*And then, my son, I died.*'

(To be continued)

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TRUMAN'S POINT IV.

ROBERT CARRERAS

Fourth, we must embark on a bold new programme for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas . . . We should foster capital investments in areas needing development . . . This should be a co-operative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations . . . The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit has no place in our plans.

—From President Truman's Inaugural Address, January 20, 1949.

These lofty words, with which Mr. Truman formally launched 'Point IV', have since been clarified. America has evolved an ambitious plan for controlling the world's raw materials, providing an expanding chain of new markets for itself, and 'solving' the crisis of capitalism in America. While the relatively haphazard imperialist expansion in the 18th and 19th centuries involved the colonisation of hitherto unexploited territories or the redivision of empires through war, the American monopolists' attempt to contrive a 'planned imperialism' for the 20th century anticipates not only the 'peaceful' acquisition of the possessions of Britain, France, Belgium and others, but the simultaneous domination of the metropolitan powers themselves.

The Rockefeller Report ('Partners in Progress', March, 1951), prepared at Truman's request, gives practical meaning to Point IV. 'Free institutions', it appears, can exist 'only within the frame of an expanding world economy.' After noting that 73 per cent of U.S. military stockpiles and 58 per cent of all its imports are drawn from underdeveloped areas, it sounds a warning: 'With critical shortages developing rapidly, a quickened and enlarged production' in these countries 'is of major importance.' The real and lasting solution to this problem, it claims, is the exploitation of natural resources in underdeveloped countries through American capital; a doubling of the present annual rate of U.S. investments to $2,000 or even $2,500 million is called for. Private capital as opposed to government or international investments or loans is stressed, for the U.S. Congress cannot be counted on to allocate funds on the enormous scale envisaged, nor would big business tolerate such government intrusion. But a vital element of the project is that American financial and industrial circles, by investing their own private capital and becoming dependent

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on the fruits of their investments (i.e., industrial raw materials). would acquire a vested interest in Point IV which would thus become an integral part of the American economy.

The first and most urgent task is how to induce private capital to go overseas. It is a question of presenting the only argument that motivates capitalism: profits. But at present the profits from foreign investments, now subject to both U.S. and foreign taxes, do not always outweigh the risks involved in such ventures. At the same time, there is the existing counter-attraction of high rates of return from 'safe' investments in expanding war industries at home. The Rockefeller Report, therefore, puts forward a number of recommendations intended to rectify the situation. Prominent in the long list of special privileges and guarantees for investors is the ability to extract profits from underdeveloped countries in dollars.

It is thus easy to understand American pressure on Britain to make the pound freely convertible with the dollar. Small wonder that the U.S. strongly backs the International Monetary Fund (which it virtually runs) in insisting on convertibility, while it vehemently opposed the U.N. Economic Commission of Europe's advice of last summer that European currencies should be revalued upwards as a means of combating inflation. This would reduce the buying power of the dollar overseas and naturally deter American investors, who should be able to buy abroad as cheaply as possible. The demand by the American Chamber of Commerce that E.C.E. be abolished speaks for itself.

To administer this global programme the Rockefeller Report proposes the establishment of a new government organisation, a 'United States Overseas Economic Administration': a 'unified agency with a new point of view', co-ordinating all private, governmental and international efforts. It would be the nerve centre.

But even these measures are not expected to start the dollars flowing unless the way is further paved for American financiers. Before profits can be extracted there must be 'public works'—port facilities, roads, power stations, etc. The answer to this, the Rockefeller Report suggests, is the creation of an 'International Development Authority' which would deal with these unprofitable prerequisites. To this the U.S.-dominated International Bank has given 'sympathetic consideration'.

But 'through the United Nations', Mr. Truman? No fear. Con-

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trast this 'sympathetic consideration' by the Bank of an equally American 'I.D.A.' with its sharp reaction to an earlier U.N. proposal* for 'the creation of a new international agency to be known as the United Nations Economic Development Administration' (U.N.E.D.A.) for 'financing projects of economic development in underdeveloped countries which are not financially productive in the banking sense' and to work 'in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations'. It emphasised 'the development of heavy industries' and deplored the motivations of private investors.

At all this, the International Bank exploded. As for the 'alleged' need for the 'so-called U.N.E.D.A.', it retorted, its 'purported' functions were ones 'which the Bank has been performing for some time'. Furthermore, 'excessive emphasis on industry for industry's sake, above all, heavy industry, may leave an undeveloped country with the symbol of development rather than the substance. . . . In general, capital should be applied where it brings the greatest return'.† (It may be recalled that this is the same International Bank from which Yugoslavia has already obtained and is currently seeking further loans—for Yugoslavia's 'independent socialist development', as Tito's Foreign Trade Minister put it on March 14, 1951.) This stand was emphatically confirmed on January 12 at the United Nations at Paris. Here the U.S. and the Bank adamantly opposed the wish of the two-to-one majority for a U.N. fund for financing development.

These trans-Atlantic schemers also strive to make the rest of the capitalist world dependent upon the U.S. for essential raw materials by isolating it from sources of supply outside American domination. This is one of the meanings of the Battle Bill stifling East-West trade. The point is made very clear in the Rockefeller Report: 'Many free peoples, those of Western Europe in particular, are dependent upon foods and other materials that come from the Soviet Union and her satellites.' Substitute sources of supply must be quickly developed, since 'the continued dependence of free nations upon imports from Soviet-controlled areas weakens them in enforcing measures of economic defence'. This, of course, complements the U.S. moves to throttle socialist development throughout the world by withholding both its own exports and those of its 'allies' from these countries.

*Methods of Financing Economic Development in Under-Developed Countries, United Nations, Lake Success, 1949, pages 113-132.

†*ibid*, pages 139 to 144.

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Britain is shown to be the principal target in the attack on the 'allies'. According to the Gray Report (forerunner of the Rockefeller Report), 'not only is the sterling area an indispensable source of raw materials, but the position of Britain as a banker and trading centre of the world's largest currency area makes Britain's trading and currency policies of great importance to the realisation of United States foreign economic objectives'. The removal of currency, trade and discriminatory restrictions in Britain and the Empire are clearly of paramount importance. Once sterling is allowed to be freely exchanged for dollars, and British import licensing, Imperial preferences, bilateral trading and other activities which keep out U.S. exports are broken down, the tight sterling area trading bloc can be cracked and opened wide to a flood of American products. At the same time, serious restrictions and hazards facing U.S. investments in the colonies and the extraction of profits therefrom are eliminated.

Furthermore, with sterling freely convertible in its present weakened state, and dollars becoming a currency used in multilateral trade and for international balancing of accounts, the U.S. would be in a much better position to dictate the rate of exchange. And from there it would be an easy step to creating a dollar trading area to supplant the sterling area.

Since one of the main obstacles to making sterling convertible is the inadequacy of the gold and dollar reserves, the Gray Report thoughtfully proposes that 'stabilisation credits' to swell Britain's central reserves artificially be extended by the U.S.—but only after 'all the basic conditions for convertibility' (meaning an end to anti-American discrimination) 'have been established except for the provision of sufficient reserves'. Subsidising the pound in this direct and unilateral manner would, needless to say, give the U.S. a great measure of control over the strength (and weakness) of sterling—the web that ties the Empire to the City of London.

The United States' declining to participate financially in the Colombo Plan, the £1,870 million six-year 'Commonwealth development scheme' for South and South-East Asia, should also be no cause for wonder. The U.S. had been counted on for some £700 million of this, and when it was made clear at the end of February, 1951, that no contributions could be expected, London financial circles were plainly shocked; not only has the Plan little chance of fulfilment without substantial American financing, but

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the Treasury entertains hopes of adding to its dollar earnings through extensive U.S. investments in British territories — the latter end of which (if feasible) would leave them worse off than ever.

But America has no intention of strengthening the British sphere of influence—of underwriting the fortunes of a rival imperialist power. It doesn't want to *buy* raw materials from another country—it wants to *own* the resources and *control* their production, thus assuring expanding supplies for its voracious war machine and industrial capacity. This would also be protection against the possibility of Britain refusing to sell raw materials to the U.S. as a measure of retaliation, should Anglo-American antagonisms develop to that extent. It wants to dictate the prices and allocate the ration of essential commodities to the rest of the 'free world' in order to maintain their subservience and to curb foreign competition (as in the case of American favouring of the U.S.-sponsored Japanese textile industry over the British through allocations of raw cotton). And it wants the captive markets that will follow the dollar in its 'development schemes', not to do its investing through another power and the medium of another currency. Only logical, therefore, is the Anglo-American agreement of July 13, 1951, which, according to the Associated Press, empowers 'British overseas territories to deal directly with the United States in accepting aid under President Truman's Point IV Plan'.

Point IV is conceived as a universal plan for hot war, cold war, or—should that be imposed on the United States by the peoples of the world—peace. Although American economy is now being floated by huge government expenditures on arms ('Armament is the great pump-priming mechanism of the future' which 'can be expanded readily in periods when deflation threatens, contracted in periods of possible inflation', says *U.S. News and World Report*, July 6, 1951), the planners predicate their case for the survival of U.S. capitalism on the necessity of an ever-increasing level of industrial activity. When the new American war factories go into full production, the tremendous rate of consumption from 'strategic stockpiles' will demand that these stocks be built up even higher, that expanding markets for surplus production be more than ever required, and U.S. domination over the rest of the capitalist world be extended and consolidated, for the subjection of America's 'allies' is a pre-condition for the

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realisation of these aims. Now is the time, therefore, to embark on these imperialist ventures—before the present boom subsides —for private capital does not go abroad when the economy is contracting.

The probability or otherwise of bringing about large-scale private investments is another question. But the key issue for Britain is that a blueprint for action has been drawn up and the sights are on this goal. The consequences of merely clearing the ground for this 'planned imperialism' are already rapidly undermining the position of Britain and the Empire. The strings to the 1946 loan, the 1947 convertibility debacle, forced devaluation of sterling in 1949, strenuous U.S. opposition to revaluation and insistence on currency convertibility today, its dictation of British trade, and growing control not only of the distribution but also of the prices of many essential raw materials are but initial American spadework—preparing Britain's grave.

This article is concerned not with the theoretical questions implicit in Point IV (its 'ultra-imperialism' fallacy, the deepening contradictions within the camp of imperialism, the victory or growingly effective resistance of the peoples) but simply with a brief outline of the schemes of American finance-capital. How dearly Wall Street's government hugs these schemes to its bosom was emphasised in President Truman's Address on January 9 when he declared on the Point 4 that 'there is nothing of greater importance in all our foreign policy'.

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AGRICULTURE'S PLIGHT

DAVID LANGLAND

Hypocritical posturing as the 'agricultural party' whilst betraying the agricultural industry and restricting agricultural production in the interests of big business has long been a feature of Tory policy. For the export of manufactured goods, large scale investments abroad and reliance on imports of food to pay for the exports and as interest on investments has been the strategy of British imperialism since the eighteen-seventies. British agriculture has been deliberately sacrificed in the interests of this policy with the exception of two brief periods of expansion during 1914-18 and 1939-45. But in addition to this traditional restriction (still strong in spite of our balance of payments position) domination by American imperialism represents an even more powerful threat to our agriculture. With the sharpening of the war policy, rearmament and increasing subservience to America following the return to power of the Tories, British agriculture faces absolute disaster.

The United States, faced with colossal surpluses of food, was by 1945 resorting to capitalism's traditional policy when faced with over-production. Production was cut and the acreage of wheat and maize—to quote but two examples—was slashed by a seventh. Meanwhile, according to a report of the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organisation, 'wheat shipments from the United States were reduced by 40 per cent' in 1950. No wonder that in July, 1950 (before the new harvest) there were surpluses of 412 million bushels of wheat and 1,293 million bushels of maize—in both cases equivalent to well over a third of the 1949 crop!

It was at this stage that the Americans took action in Korea and as Norris Dodd, Director General of F.A.O. explained:

> The crisis in Korea has had an impact on the economy of many nations . . . Demand for agricultural products will be stronger than had been anticipated . . . requirements . . . will be so substantial that the threat of unmarketable surpluses will fade.
>
> (*World Outlook and State of Food and Agriculture*, 1950)

Indeed, those 'unmarketable surpluses' were transformed overnight into what the President of the Farm Bureau Federation of the U.S. called 'strategic reserves' when he addressed the National Farmers' Union in London last January. We are again indebted to Norris Dodd for explaining why:—

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> Recent announcements that the U.S. will aim for an army of three million rather than one million men and that some West European nations will quicken the pace of their rearmaments . . . will affect the outlook for food and agriculture. (*Ibid*)

How desperately the American imperialists need war! They are already using the situation following their action in Korea to break down the agriculture of their satellites and intensify the penetration of their markets. For instance, American exports of wheat in the first six months of 1951 were double what they had been in the first six months of 1950 (before Korea). With maize and other animal feeding stuffs the position is somewhat different. They intend feeding it to their own livestock and are exporting only limited amounts to other countries. For instance, when the Churchill Government approached the U.S. with a request for 575 thousand tons of coarse grain by the end of March, the U.S. Department of Agriculture cut the order to 475 thousand tons. Thus, whilst our home produced bacon and eggs are threatened by shortage of feeding stuffs and many of our farmers face ruin because of it, the American Government will be in a position to unload their surplus spam and dried eggs on us. It is not now a question of dumping raw materials of which our own agriculture could make use, but of finished products which give the Americans extra profit, while putting British farmers out of business. No country is more at their mercy than we are, for Britain is the greatest food importing country in the world and already depends on U.S.A. for almost a third of those imports.

Meanwhile, American restrictions on our trade with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and People's China prevent us from making anything like full use of the valuable grain, feeding stuffs and other foods with which they could supply us. In 1947 we could have had a long term agreement with the Soviet Union which could have guaranteed us 6 million tons of feeding grain over the last four years. But it was turned down and only short term agreements for much smaller amounts such as the 800,000 tons recently agreed on have been made. Even so, Russian grain has been one of the mainstays of our feeding stuffs supply and in 1950 represented over a third of our coarse grain imports for these purposes. Equally important is the price being paid. This is understood to have changed little in the last two years while the price of maize in Chicago rose almost 30 per cent in 1950. Yet we have tried to use scarce dollars on American maize while the supplies from Russia are but a fraction of what they might

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have been, and the successes of their great 15-year agricultural plan ensure that even greater quantities will be available. But if the American Battle Act is fully operated as is threatened, even the meagre supply we obtain at present will disappear with disastrous results for our livestock. In addition to this, our agriculture is directly affected by American stockpiling, especially of sulphur. In 1950, according to the 1951 Economic Survey, this led to a cut of 300,000 tons in our production of superphosphate—one of the most essential of our fertilisers. Thus, subservience to the United States has reinforced the old restrictive tendencies of British capitalism towards agriculture and undermined the whole basis of the industry.

Back in power, the Tories can congratulate themselves that throughout six years of Labour rule their policy of limiting agricultural production has been so faithfully carried out for them. In fact, reviewing Government policy, Sir Thomas Dugdale, the Tory Minister of Agriculture, was able to say recently :—

> Basically—and he emphasised the word 'basically'—there was no great difference between the agricultural objectives of his predecessor, Mr. Tom Williams, and himself.
>
> (*Farmers Weekly*, 7.12.51)

In 1945 Tom Williams took over and carried out the policy of deliberately restricting the size of the industry under cover of a 'switch to livestock' which was initiated by R. S. Hudson, the wartime Minister of Agriculture. The policy of ploughing out our large acreage of unproductive permanent grass, which made possible the tremendous increase in food production during the war, was abandoned, and over a million acres of arable have been allowed to go back to permanent grass. The wheat acreage has fallen by more than a million and a quarter acres and potatoes are down by over a quarter of a million acres. Indeed, the Labour Government planned further reductions of wheat and potatoes by fifty thousand acres each in 1952. The vegetable acreage is down by a fifth on last year, while over 27,000 workers have left the land in the last twelve months. Yet a further indication of the seriousness of the situation is that farm workers are now to be called up—a step never before resorted to even during the war. The livestock situation is no less gloomy. There had been for a time last year a slight and very slow increase in livestock, but recently even this has been reversed. The 1951 June census showed a most serious decline of all classes of stock except pigs

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and poultry. There were, for instance, a hundred thousand fewer cattle than a year ago which means less milk and less beef—there has in fact already been a big drop in milk production. And now pigs and poultry are likely to be drastically reduced because of the cuts in the feeding stuffs ration. Thus, in spite of the so-called 'switch to livestock' crops *and* livestock are rapidly declining.

What a different story might have been told had we maintained the plough-up of permanent grass at something like a million acres a year as was done during the war years! Besides more wheat this would have given us more grain for livestock while the old grass could have been replaced by new grass vastly more productive than the old.

What can we expect from the Tories? Many glib promises were made about increasing production, 'good red meat' and the like. But what of the realities? Listen to the Tory Minister of Agriculture :—

> With the growing demand of rearmament and the general national economic situation, he would say quite frankly, and even bluntly, that he saw no prospect of getting all the farm equipment, all the buildings, all the machines, all the fertilisers or all the feedingstuffs we needed.
> (*Farmers Weekly*, 7.12.51)

In fact, all the fine promises mean precisely nothing. Everything needed to maintain even the present level of production let alone a full scale agricultural expansion programme, must be sacrificed on the high altar of the rearmament programme. Agriculture, like everything else is to be cut to the bone in preparation for war. Farm workers, working farmers, agricultural scientists and all those who love the land must fight against the war policy of American imperialism and their fifth column in Britain, for it means ruin and decay for British agriculture. We want peace and a new Government which will make the maximum use of our good land. Only in this way can we win new life for the countryside.

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Book Reviews

THE CO-OPS

The British Co-operative Movement In A Socialist Society, by G. D. H. Cole. A Report written for the Fabian Society. (168 pp. George Allen & Unwin, *12s. 6d.*)

It was one of the objects of the founders of the British Co-operative movement, among whom were followers of Robert Owen, to proceed, as soon as practicable, 'to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education and government'. At the time when the Rochdale Society, which became the model for all consumers' Co-operatives, was established, Socialism and Co-operation meant not two different things, but a single gospel.

This is the opening theme of Professor Cole's short book. The most valuable and important contribution that he makes in the book as a whole (though by no means the longest part of it) is his challenge to the attitude of present-day Co-operative leaders on the two-fold question of relations with the State, and the principle of 'voluntarism'. Discussing Co-operative trade and prospects, he touches on the absurdity of trying to reconcile universal Co-operation with the voluntary principle: for voluntarism 'involves the continuance of alternative forms of trade'. These must be either State trading, or capitalist enterprise. In practice, Co-operative leaders defend capitalist undertakings, on the ground that consumers must have a free choice. Again, in the chapter on the future of Co-operative production, Cole shows that the movement was 'entirely correct in insisting on maintaining its separateness, as a "State within a State", as long as the only real alternative open to it was a subordinate partnership with uncontrolled capitalist enterprise'; but that, in the advance of Socialism, Co-operation could expand much faster in a form of partnership with the State.

In these statements Cole seems clearly to recognise the basic difference between the Socialist and the non-Socialist position in regard to the Co-operative Movement, and to lead right up to an examination of the kind of state, the class basis of the 'powers of government', which it is in the interests of the Co-operative Movement to achieve. But he draws back from this fundamental question. His own conception of the advance to Socialism takes on a form so mild that no Fabian could be afraid of it. Nor does he once allude to the experiences of the Soviet Union and the People's democracies in building great Co-operative movements in 'a form of partnership with the State'.

Early in the book there is a reference to the Labour Party's plans for 'the next big advance towards that "Socialism" which is the professed objective'. And here it is Cole who puts the word Socialism in quotation marks. But later on, when he defines the essential characteristics of the socialist society to which he is looking forward at the end of a generation, it turns out to be a society in which various forms of public and state ownership will be combined with private enterprise 'financed largely by advances of capital from public sources'.

In the chapters that follow, Cole the Fabian becomes involved in a series of proposals for the extension of Co-operative trading under various forms, including the 'mutualisation' of distributive concerns, side by side with the development of Co-operative production and existing types of retail society.

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Criticism and some ridicule from orthodox Co-operative spokesmen have fastened on these proposals, and the arrangement of the book makes it easy for them to ignore the far more fundamental questions that it raises. The real differentiation in the Co-operative Movement has its roots much deeper than differences of opinion about trading methods. For this reason, it is hard to forgive Cole the Socialist for letting Cole the Fabian take so much space in this book, which could have been an outstanding political contribution towards setting the feet of the British Co-operative Movement on the road to Socialism. That Cole the Socialist recognises the only real way of advance is perfectly clear from one revealing sentence:

> Not until there is a large, well-organised workers' party, with a clear-cut policy based on Socialist conceptions, equipped to send its missionaries into every Co-operative society as well as into every Trade Union, not merely to conduct propaganda but to undertake the constructive work of control and management in accordance with a concerted plan, can the Co-operative Movement be aroused out of its Conservative slumber.

ELINOR BURNS.

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CAPITAL HOLDINGS

Ownership Of Industry, by Hargreaves Parkinson. (140 pp. Eyre and Spotiswoode. 1951. 25s.)

THE late Hargreaves Parkinson compiled this book to prove that the ownership of industrial capital in Britain 'is a democratic institution'. The result of much laborious research is a useful book of reference which will, no doubt, find its way into most libraries. The statistical data, accurate and informative, are adequately displayed; the text is eminently readable; only the conclusions are wrong.

Mr. Parkinson analysed the share lists of thirty large companies whose quotations are used for the *Financial Times* daily share price index. Using a one-in-ten sample, he divided the capital holdings into three groups — the small investors with under 500 shares, the medium holdings of 501-10,000, and the large holdings over 10,000 (for which Mr. Parkinson made a full, not a sample, study). The capital holdings for each of these three groups were then calculated, and from the results, three main conclusions emerged: first, that the total number of individual holdings number nearly one and a quarter million and that nine-tenths of these holdings belong to the small investor (under 500 shares); second, that the large investors in the total of their capital held, own less than 50 per cent necessary for complete control; third, that the conclusions from the analysis of these thirty companies are broadly applicable to the industrial structure of the country as a whole, a statement which can be agreed without further argument.

That there are a large number of individual holdings in British industry is no newly discovered phenomenon, although Mr. Parkin-

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son produced the fact with the self satisfied astonishment of a magician with a new kind of rabbit. He himself drew attention to the large number of investors nearly twenty years ago and the story has been further documented since then, particularly in the U.S.A., with the classic investigation of Berle and Means and the massive reports of the T.N.E.C. What we do not know is the extent of the duplication of holdings, and here again American experience, limited though it is, suggests that the higher the income group the greater the duplication of holdings. But does the fact of just over a million investors prove the democratisation of capital ownership? It proves, of course, nothing of the sort. Mr. Parkinson's data refer to 1941-2; in 1936, the nearest year for which national capital statistics are available, there were approximately one and three-quarter million persons aged 25 and over (some 7% of a total of 25 millions) who owned 84% of the total private property in Great Britain. Within this property-owning class, concentration of ownership was very marked, a mere quarter of a million persons owning 55% of the total property. Mr. Parkinson's statistics, limited to the ownership of industrial capital, simply confirm the concentration of ownership within a particular sector. One and a quarter million investors represented just under 5% of the population of 25 and over in 1941. His data show that within this investing group 90% of the holdings (the small investors under 500 shares each) owned approximately 30% of the total capital; at the other end of the scale, another 30% was owned by one quarter of one per cent of the total holdings. Within this last group of large holdings there was a further concentration whereby 161 holdings (representing 0.015% of the total number of holdings) owned 15.15% of the total industrial capital of these thirty companies. Mr. Parkinson was under the impression that these figures were evidence of the democratic nature of industrial capital ownership in Great Britain.

He further believed that because the large holdings of over 10,000 shares did not own 50% of the total capital, the widely-held notion that control was in the hands of a small number of wealthy investors was thus effectively disproved. But as he himself pointed out (p. 99) the ordinary run of investor is in no way interested or concerned in the detailed working of the company in which his money is invested, and to argue, as might be argued, that there is any kind of fundamental conflict between the Directors, Executive and wealthy shareholders would be to rehabilitate certain of the ideas of the wholly discredited theory of managerial revolution. The evidence for British industry is admittedly limited, but what there is suggests that a partial divorce of ownership from control is characteristic of the large joint stock companies, with effective control in the hands of a small group of holdings whose votes normally total less, in some cases much less, than the 50% legally required. In practice it is often the case that the more widely dispersed the shares, the smaller is the proportion necessary for effective control.

Mr. Parkinson concluded with a chapter headed, 'The Moral For Investors', a plea for closing the ranks against the threat of Socialist spoliation. He ended with a clarion call to the investor, in a phrase that somehow stirs the memory: 'Let him unite. He has everything to lose'.

JOHN SAVILLE.

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U.S.S.R. VISIT

Russia—The Truth, official report of the elected delegation of Trade Unionists to the U.S.S.R., 1951. (72 pp. British Workers' Delegation to the U.S.S.R., 1951, 36, Spencer Street, London, E.C.1. 1s.)

AT a time when the capitalist press is eagerly lapping up the products of any anti-Soviet fiction-monger, however dubious his credentials and however wildly improbable his inventions, *Russia—The Truth* should be in the hands of every progressive person. It should be studied and given, sold or lent to as many people as possible. For this pamphlet is not written by some shady adventurer anxious to cash in on an easy market, but by 26 British Trade Unionists, elected by their fellow-workers, and two officials of the British Soviet Society. The task they set themselves was to make as thorough a study of the life of the U.S.S.R. as was possible in the three weeks at their disposal, and to bring back an accurate report of what they saw.

The political opinions and religious beliefs of the delegates varied widely—how widely is apparent from their individual reports which are included in the pamphlet—and a number of them had been considerably influenced by anti-Soviet propaganda. In their report they stress the complete freedom in which they were able to make their inquiries and the complete absence of any censorship or 'vetting' of the statements they broadcast over Moscow radio. They speak of the good and improving living standards of the Soviet people, of their enthusiasm for the vast construction projects, of the friendship for the British people which the delegates found everywhere they went, and above all of the Soviet people's passionate desire for peace.

'Not a single one of us has any doubt whatever of the desire of the Soviet people for peace', say the British trade unionists. 'If the Soviet Government wished to prepare the minds of its people for a war it is secretly organising, it could surely find better ways of doing it than by encouraging them to think, to talk, and to sing about peace. We did not find any evidence to support the view that although the Soviet people do indeed want peace, their leaders do not'.

In that section of the pamphlet devoted to the delegates' individual reports, two building workers give their impressions of housing and building work in the U.S.S.R., a locomotive engine driver describes the Moscow Steam Locomotive Depot, a woman hosiery packer from Nottingham writes about Moscow's shops, etc. The delegates do not pretend that everywhere is perfect, but they give a general picture of amazingly rapid progress. A most valuable section is that in which Ken Smith gives a detailed account of Soviet living standards in terms which the British reader can understand.

R. MALCOLM.

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SHORTER NOTICES

Report on Russia, by Iqbal Singh. (188 pp. Kutub Publishers, Bombay; Collet's, London. *5s.*)

THIS lively, warm-hearted and witty account of a two-months' winter visit to the Soviet Union, describes vividly the rich pattern of Soviet life and is as gay a travel book as one could hope to encounter. But much more than this, it examines seriously, honestly and sympathetically the nature and purpose of Soviet society. In the author's own metaphor, this little book is another 'bridge' of understanding between the capitalist countries and the people of the Socialist Soviet Union who, he finds, are moving forward with exhilarating optimism and confidence to a glorious future firmly based on the principle of Peace and Friendship with all peoples.

B.M.B.

The Memoirs of Josiah Sage. With drawings by Paxton Chadwick. (63 pp. Lawrence & Wishart, *3s. 6d.*)

BORN just before Joseph Arch founded his first Union in 1872, Josiah Sage grew up in that stirring struggle of the agricultural workers for human conditions of life. Sympathetically illustrated, his reminiscences recapture the enthusiasm and good humour of their meetings; give examples of Union songs which vividly bring home their dignity and fighting spirit, and show the contribution of the non-conformist church to their struggle. They reveal the courage of these oppressed workers when the tied cottage was the rule, and Union membership meant eviction and blacklisting, forcing them into emigration or a pedlar's life. These memoirs deal mainly with the period up to 1896 when Arch's

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Union ceased to exist (beaten not by the farmers but by the influx of cheap wheat from America), but Sage himself was active in the 1906 resurgence which later developed into N.U.A.W.

A.W.

Marx-Engels-Marxism, by V. I. Lenin. (580 pp. Lawrence & Wishart, 1951, 6*s.*)

THIS collection of Lenin's writings is not by any means a mere reprint of the old edition published in English in 1934; it is almost a new book. In the first place, it contains more than twice as much, 580 pages instead of 226. Secondly, every article has been retranslated so that it is now more accurate and more readable. Thirdly, the additional material contains not only extracts dealing with Marxist theory from well-known Leninist classics, but also some new articles hitherto not available, for instance an extremely important analysis of the Marxist attitude to partisan warfare, written in 1906. Marxism cannot be understood without studying the enormous contribution made by Lenin; in a sense everything he wrote is a contribution to Marxism. But here we have collected in a form invaluable for reference all the main writings and passages which deal specifically with features of Marxist theory. They are now arranged in chronological order. The print is easy to read, but the habit of omitting hyphens and sometimes using heavy type instead of italics for emphasis is annoying. At the price the book is a real bargain and an essential for every Marxist.

C.P.D.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS.

Training and Promotion in Nationalised Industry. Acton Society Trust. Allen & Unwin. 136 pp. 10s. 6d.

The Challenge of Atomic Energy. E. H. Burhop. Lawrence & Wishart. 138 pp. 6s. 6d.

Thirty Years of the Communist Party of China. Hu Chiao-Mu. Lawrence & Wishart. 96 pp. 2s. 6d.

The Young Wage Earner. Thomas Ferguson & James Cunnison. Nuffield Foundation. O.U.P. 194 pp. 8s. 6d.

Barefoot. Zaharia Stancu. Fore Publications Ltd. 272 pp. 12s. 6d.

Searchlight: An expose of New York City Schools. David Alison. Teachers Center Press, New York; Collet's London. 304 pp. 8s.

Fetch the Engine. Frederick H. Radford. Fire Brigades Union. 192 pp. 6s. 6d.

Scientific Session on the Physiological Teachings of Academician I. P. Pavlov. Academy of Sciences & Academy of Medical Sciences, Moscow. Collet's. London. 174 pp. 2s. 6d.

East of Stettin-Trieste. Stanley Evans. Fore Publications Ltd. 84 pp. 5s.

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej. Articles et Discours. Editions du Parti Ouvrier Roumain.

PAMPHLETS.

The Nehru Five Year Plan. S. G. Sardesai. People's Publishing House, Bombay; Collet's, London. 42 pp. 2s. 6d.

Programme of the Communist Party of India. C. P. I., Bombay; Collet's, London. 24 pp. 6d.

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on R.P.D.'s Notes *Into Battle*, which a Welsh correspondent wanted reprinted in a daily paper to reach a wider audience; for as a Scots worker says: 'R.P.D. is the best writer on his subject (and mine). Long life to him!' I think the January number (with R.P.D.'s *Peace or War in 1952?*, Harry Pollitt's *Year of Decision*, William Pearson's *Trade Unions—Alert* and R. Page Arnot's *The War in Malaya*) is likely to be in great demand for many a month.

I wish I had space to pass on the New Year greetings which have poured in. From overseas: a New Zealand Peace Council (with a reprint of the Sermon as a greetings message); the Hungarian Trade Unions; many Canadian and American readers; and congratulations from a customer in China 'on your successes in the past and to wish you an even more prosperous year in 1952'. And at home, a Midlands Labour Party Chairman writes: 'Best wishes to *L.M.* and all it stands for.' From the West: 'May it be a year of decision, but without too many good Socialist lives being paid for it, at the behest of the Churchills and Trumans of Wall Street and Threadneedle Street.' Among the finest letters are those by veterans in the movement of 70 years and upwards, as from Gloucestershire: 'What a pleasure I get in reading *L.M.*, what experience I have had in my life too. We have not waited in vain. If only our dear comrade Agnes Smedley had been spared to see and know of China today! I only wish I could afford more, but believe me, us old age pensioners have to tighten our belts—prices sky high. Still, never mind, dear Mum and I are happy, with excellent health to fight on. Our very best wishes to you all.' And ours to you, who keep so young and cheerful because you have seen with your own clear eyes how quickly have developed the forces of socialism in your time. The December fund total is

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